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laborers increased, a new position called "*Kozukai*" was established under the *Otona*. The duty of the *Kozukai* was to recruit native labor according to the instructions of managers and guards and to supervise their labor. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find: "Sea cucumbers received at the post would be spread on the wooden floor and the skewers removed by women. This job was managed by the *Kozukai* who could use women living near the post. The *Kozukai* was a foreman and hard-working Ezo were chosen for this post." *Tsugaru Kibun* notes:

A [465]

> For loading or unloading ships in Ezo money was not needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland. If sake and rice were given them they were very pleased, regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work. They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. Some of them would even head for home. Therefore, a sort of rice and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be given to three or four persons while one handful of rice was also given to three persons. Thus, by not allowing them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the job as long as one wanted.

It was natural then, under such a system, that potentiality for trouble existed.

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Although the natives were mostly hired to make oil cake the wages of those employed at fishing were, in general, as follows:[62]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| the headman | rice or yeast | 20 sacks |
| | tobacco | 20 bundles |
| male Ezo | rice or yeast | 7 or 8 sacks |
| | tobacco | 20 bundles |
| female Ezo | rice or yeast | 5 sacks |
| | tobacco | 10 bundles |

The oil cakes were all kept by the post but it was the custom to give half the oil to the Ezo. This varied however, according to different *Basho*. The wage in the Kunashiri and Menashi districts, where there was a revolt in 1789, was, according to reports by the Ezo:

A [509]

KUNASHIRI[63]

| | |
|---|---|
| chief | 3 sacks of rice yeast |
| male Ezo | 1 or 2 sacks of rice yeast |
| female Ezo | 1 to 3 bundles of tobacco |
| | 1 knife |

MENASHI[64]

| | |
|---|---|
| chief | 1 sack of rice and 1 bundle of tobacco |
| others | ½ bundle of tobacco and 1 knife |

No distribution of the product

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In Kunashiri there were some *Basho* where the natives were made to work until the snow began to fall

[62] *Kansei Ezo no ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Records of the investigation of the Kansei incident). Statement by Denkichi.
[63] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.
[64] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Menashi

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This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

> During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

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The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

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Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ou and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

[P.59(B)]

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in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG:* "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

### B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kakinuki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8–9.

[8] *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 39.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

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enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One. Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

## 2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

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[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jûichinen shônin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sôrô kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dôchiû Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chôkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kôeki kakaku wo Bunseri gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshô* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

| *Dried Salmon* | *Dried Mushrooms* |
|---|---|
| A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice. | 50 for one cup of sake. |
| B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice. | 50 for one cup refined sake. |
| | 15 for one cup unrefined sake. |
| (One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon) | (One cup refined sake equal 50 mon) |
| | (One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon) |
| | (One mushroom equal 1 mon) |

*Boiled Sea Cucumber*

A. 40 for one shô of rice.
B. 56 for one shô of rice.
(One shô of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

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forbade any Japanese to come into contact with the natives of stricken areas and exerted every effort solely to prevent the spread of disease into Matsumae itself. This policy was reversed by the Bakufu. The prohibition against the natives wearing straw raincoats and sandals was rescinded and the *Kaishō* were ordered to prepare these for distribution in abundance while the Ezo themselves were taught the art of making coats and sandals.[16] Doctors were assigned to each *Basho* to look after both Japanese and Ezo patients. Originally, six doctors were hired but the number rose to twelve when West Ezo was brought under Japanese adminstration.[17] The doctors were paid seven momme five bu per day plus a special allowance of three momme for those who served in Etorofu. Later the salary was changed to an amount of rice sufficient to support five people plus an allowance from the *Basho* of two momme five bu in silver and a special grant of five bu making a total of three momme per day.[18] In addition a doctor was paid seventy-five mon for each sick call.[19] Originally the doctors were sent from Edo but in later years doctors resident in Hakodate who had good reputations were hired.

[16] Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni kaikoku no gi aifukume torihakarai kata mōshiage sōrō kakitsuke (A document on the matter of the policy of controlling the Ezo and opening up the country), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 552–553.

[17] Matsumae Hakodate jōshiki oiriyo oyoso mitsumori kakitsuke (Estimate of expenses at Matsumae and Hakodate for 1807) gives the following: "Doctors' wage . . . 270 ryō—this amount is for the employment of six doctors employed for one year at seven momme five bu per doctor per day." Another example can be found in the estimates for the year 1808 which sets down a total of 449 ryō for twelve doctors. Both these documents are in *Heishin Jōtetsu*.

[18] Evidence that those stationed at Etorofu received an extra allowance of three momme a day is seen in the estimates for 1806 under the heading "Special Allowances at *Basho*"—"288 ryō . . . this amount is for six doctors hired at seven momme per day plus an added allowance of three momme per day in silver for one doctor stationed at Etorofu." We have an actual example of this in an assignment order dated February 25, 1812. "Doctor Kume Yoshinaka, You have been assigned to Etorofu with a special allowance of three momme in silver per day." A further and different example may be cited as follows: "Hakodate Doctor Miura Gentoku; You have been hired by the Bakufu with an allowance to support five persons and a *Basho* allowance of two momme five bu per day in silver." An explanation of the phrase "allowance to support five persons" is found under the title "Oyatoiishi no kyūryō" (Wages of doctors hired by the Bakufu) in the "Hakodate Bugyō narabini shihai muki yakuyaku oyategyō oyoso tsumori torishirabe shō" [Written estimates of the Hakodate Magistracy and other administrators] which is in No. 3 of *Heishin Jōtetsu*: "An allowance to support five persons is equivalent to eight koku, seven to, five shō or eight ryō three bu." This amount is considerably less than the seven momme three bu per day previously mentioned.

[19] "Bakufu hired doctors assigned to a *Basho* shall be given an allowance of two ryō five bu in silver per day plus a special allowance of five bu making a total of three ryō. Furthermore, when the doctor travels on sick calls in the *Basho* an added allowance of seventy-five mon per day is granted." "Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . ."

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were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

| | |
|---|---|
| One package of powder medicine | 3 bu in silver |
| Five pieces of plaster each two inches square | 3 bu in silver |
| Moxa treatment | 100 mon per treatment |
| Medicine for eye diseases | 1 bu 2 shu |

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

## 4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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539 snake opened his mouth toward the demon and said, *'Pish! pish!'*

"The eyes of the demon opened wide. The eyeballs struck right out from the middle of their sockets. They shone like fire and glared without blinking. Then there came a sword through the smoke-hole and fell upon the creature's neck. The head was severed from the body and rolled and bounded about the floor of the house. At the same time *swish* came an arrow from the gods and stuck fast in the chest of the demon. His whole body sank like a shadow into the earth and was not. Nothing was to be seen but the bare place where it had entered the ground.

"It was now daybreak. The séance was over. The villagers were now allowed in to examine the house. But they could find nothing more than a little stream of blood running along the end of the sleeping-bench. The devil's body could not be found anywhere.*

"Then the people gave to two of the shamans just the fine due, as if two men had been murdered. To the man whose gods had not been angered they gave the usual shaman's fee as well as the fine due."**

"Thanks to this séance, the people may now go on living serenely. Had it not been for these shamans—

[754] *No wonder! These new-comers had not been hypnotized. Darkness was gone and daylight had appeared. For this kind of Ainu spiritist séance, darkness is absolutely a necessity. It is my belief that the shamans themselves made the red mark to deceive the people.

[465] **The ordinary shaman's fee consisted of old swords, robes, skins, lacquered vessels and such articles. I knew a female shaman who demonstrated over a sick young man once, and, as he had nothing to pay her with, she bagged all his clothes, even down to a nice new pair of woollen drawers he had lately brought home with him. She told him that the devil who was bothering him resided in these! And that he would die if he wore them again. I sent word to this lady, telling her that I was coming to see her about this. But I could never catch her at home! Could I have caught her, I would also have demonstrated and got them back. And she knew this.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The

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Goldi RX3
Orok

A 262 177 /455 cont./ a little fish and oil, almost the only food (3), clearly indicates

A [466] [648] 3. In that they are paid daily for their work with a few handfuls of rice from the Japanese.

that the Ainu are under the influence of a different culture than the Gilyak.

Gi 226 231 The third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, are, to be sure, chiefly ichthyophagous and, as a consequence of the location of their habitation area along the seacoast, are destined to get their principal food from the sea, but the circumstance that, in addition to the dog, they keep another domestic and draft animal, the reindeer, and by means of it lead a seminomadic life, brings about a not unimportant modification of their food situation in Gi 221 226 262 251 contrast to the Ainu and Gilyak. In the summer and fall, the seasons of the year which the Orok spend on the seacoast to fish and hunt seal and to prepare supplies for the winter, again principally jukola, seal oil, and various berries and roots, their food Gi 175 226 262 264 consists almost exclusively of fish. Poljakof, who spent several weeks during the summer of 1881 among the Orok in the region around the mouth of the Tymy, which they visit annually because of its wealth of fish, described their daily diet during this period of the most active fishing in the following manner: the first meal, taken early in the morning, consists of a fat salmon head (from Salmo lagocephalus); then in the course of the day jukola roasted over the fire follows, with seal oil and fish with various plant accompaniments, such as roots, cedar nuts, and especially berries, which are mixed with finely chopped or even pre-chewed (!) fish; and a fat salmon head again ends the day (4). The nomadic life

Gi [113] 4. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 89).

Gi 262 231 224 The nomadic life of the Orok and the smaller number of dogs satisfying them very considerably lessen their need for winter provisions, and all the